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able. And it may be also conceived, that to send over a fresh diplomatic character, at this stage of the business, would neither be very easy, nor very expeditious.

"It is also contemplated by the President, to propose that, for the purpose of saving delay, the ratifications may be exchanged *here*. For, altho' he does not doubt the constitutionality of the Senate's act, and is advised too, that the proposed article, if agreed to by his britannic majesty, need not be submitted to them before ratification; yet he entertains serious doubts, whether he can himself ratify, without having the very article under his eye, after it shall have been assented to by his britannic majesty. The difference of time in the one form or the other will consist only in a voyage from London to Philadelphia. Provision will be made for the subscription in London of any papers, which *form* may require.

"You will oblige me, Sir, by giving me your sentiments on this statement."

According to Mr Hammond's reply, so will the Government conduct itself.

If the thing can be arranged with him, it is humbly offered to the President, as the best expedient. If it cannot, let us try, whether Deas cannot be so prepared, as to have little more to do than what an automaton would be equal to; that is, the mere delivery of papers, and the receiving of answers. If Deas cannot be substituted, then some of our European ministers must of necessity be sent over; unless some qualified person would go from hence, without eclat, in the character of a mere agent.

I have the honor, Sir, to be etc. etc.

EDM: RANDOLPH.

P. S. I forgot to add, as to the order for seizing provisions, a circumstance greatly critical. The reasons, adducted by Mr Adet against the treaty, are all against him. But if this order be tolerated, while France is understood to labour under a famine, the torrent of invective from France and our own countrymen will be immense.

3. *Virgil Maxcy on Calhoun's Political Opinions and Prospects*,  
1823.

THE following letter, at present in the possession of the managing editor, is of interest in the paucity of Calhoun's published political correspondence for 1823 and the adjoining years. It is especially so because it shows him at that time pointedly adhering to the position on the tariff which he had taken in his celebrated speech of 1816. The letter thus supplements that which Calhoun wrote directly to Garnett on July 3, 1824 (*Correspondence*, p. 219). The communication of Calhoun to Maxcy on which it is in part based is not in the collection of his letters to Maxcy in the Library of Congress.

Virgil Maxcy was the son of Jonathan Maxcy, successively president of Rhode Island College (now Brown University), Union College, and South Carolina College. He was a prominent politician and lawyer in Maryland, and an ardent supporter of Calhoun. After having been solicitor of the treasury under Jackson, and *chargé des affaires* at Brussels under Van Buren, he was killed in February, 1844, (with Secretaries Upshur and Gilmer and others) by the explosion on board the *Princeton*.

TULIP HILL, near ANNAPOLIS

Nov. 16. 1823.

*My dear Sir,*

I have duly rec<sup>d</sup>. your letter and felt certain that your impressions in relation to Mr. C—n's opinions respecting manufactures were founded in misapprehension. Frankness in the avowal of his opinions on all political questions and a readiness to assume the responsibility of defending them, are distinguishing traits in Mr. Calhoun's character. I have since the receipt of your letter had a communication with him on the subject of it. He thinks your mistake in relation to his opinions or rather your impression that he had expressed different opinions from those he entertains on the subject of manufactures, originated in his disapprobation of Mr. Baldwin's project,<sup>1</sup> which he considers violent in degree and altogether unnecessary. He thinks that little need be done to render the principal branches flourishing. For his opinions on this subject he refers such of his friends as feel an interest in knowing the extent of them, to a speech which he delivered in 1816, and which he thinks was republished from the *Intelligencer* into *Niles Register*.<sup>2</sup> He is surprised at Col. Taylor's<sup>3</sup> misapprehension of him as he went over the whole ground with him, and he thought that he, (Col. Taylor) felt disposed to yield to the conclusion, that we ought to make such naval exertions as would enable us to keep open our connexion with our markets, in time of war, or so to modify the industry of the country as in some degree to render us independent in war of foreign markets, for the leading and necessary articles of supply. Col. Taylor appeared to him to prefer the first branch of the alternative. In the conclusion of his letter he desires me to say, that when you arrive at Washington, he will be happy to discuss the subject freely with you, and he concludes his letter in the following strong language, which I, who have known him most intimately for more than 15 years believe to be perfectly sincere: viz. "I may say with truth that I could not be tempted, even by the Presidency, to disguise or conceal my opinion on great points of National policy."

<sup>1</sup> The tariff bill brought in by Henry Baldwin of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Committee on Manufactures, in April, 1821. See Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies*, I. 180-199.

<sup>2</sup> *Works*, II.

<sup>3</sup> Doubtless John Taylor of Caroline.

As to newspapers—altho' he may and perhaps ought to, be answerable that those which are devoted to him, shall not rest his pretensions on false foundations—yet it is not reasonable, that he should be made responsible for their exaggerations and extravagances.

I am happy to tell you that the Cr—d ticket is beaten in New York city.<sup>1</sup> Of the ticket opposed to it, 8 of the 10 are C—n's friends and the polls closed with a cry of "Victory for Calhoun" (*and not Adams*) "over Crawford". The impression is rapidly increasing that he will get this powerful state, without whose votes no candidate can be chosen by the Electors. Late information confirms the impression before pretty strong, that N°. C—a has deserted C—d for C—n, and that Ohio is in a fair way of doing the same by Clay. The effervescence which has been excited in Pa. in favor of Jackson for the purpose of affecting the late Election of Gov. is beginning to subside and Calhoun to come up there again. I could give you sheets of extracts of letters from all parts—even N. England, shewing C—n's rapid increase of popularity—but I have not time. You will soon hear all at Wash<sup>n</sup>. The result of the whole in my mind is this, that no one of the Candidates stands any chance of getting a majority of the votes of the Electors except C—n, and as he is manifestly the second choice of nearly all parts of the Union where he is not first, if the election comes to the house, he is the only candidate upon whom a union or compromise is practicable.

I am with sincere regard yrs.

V. MAXCY.

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. R. S. Garnett,  
Loretto, near  
Fredericksburgh  
Va.

<sup>1</sup> See Hammond, *History of Political Parties in New York*, II. 130–132. Henry Wheaton was the leading member of the successful ticket.